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To Share or to Keep: The Afterlife of Yugoslavia's Heritage and the Contemporary Heritage Management Practices

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Summary

This article revisits Yugoslav heritage through the example of the monumental network dedicated to the People's Liberation Struggle (NOB), now interpreted through the lenses of contemporary *heritage management practice*. The monumental network of the NOB was created as a part of official identity management strategy of the state, and is unquestionably a *shared* heritage of the former Yugoslav region. The contemporary heritage-interpretation and management practices within the region tend to provide them with a strong national prefix, commonly disregarding their initial *shared* nature, and contribute to the processes of contemporary national identification. The efficient managing of the *shared* properties of heritage in question poses a substantial practical challenge and a burning issue in need of thorough investigation. For this purpose, this critical intervention offers one possible approach for overcoming the current issues in heritage management and interpretation practices of these memorial sites. The article analyses contemporary heritage-focused approaches which are based on performative and internet-based tools, and gives a special focus to the benefits of implementing user-generated content approaches.

Keywords: Monuments of the People's Liberation Struggle, Shared Heritage, Former Yugoslavia, Internet, User-generated Content

Heritage: Shared or Mutual?

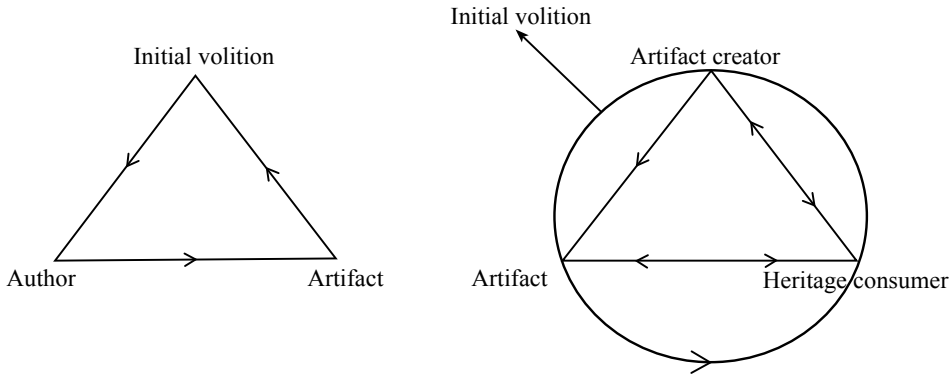
The 'new' nation-states that constituted the former Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRJ) share a common past that is in many ways denied in the contemporary nation-building endeavors. For instance, the monuments of the People's Liberation Struggle (NOB) that commemorate such a shared past, and which haunt the landscape of many of these new nations, are often ignored, if not left to decay

or destroyed. The current debates on their status and meaning for the contemporary cultural identities are locked within two frames of thinking: of maintaining their form, with a general disregard of their initial meaning, and of purposeful forgetting, leading to their decay. Even though it might seem that maintaining, researching, and interpreting these sites is an easy task, current heritage management practices are facing substantial limitations in dealing with them. Heritage professionals attempt, but often fail, to situate their work within the dynamic contemporary theories on the functioning of heritage which offer more nuanced approaches for dealing with material relics that are in the realm between mutual, shared, and dissonant.

Throughout history, heritage-making is often interpreted as a tool of state- and nation-building endeavors conducted by the official institutions of the society. Heritage is considered to embody codes of pre-mantled tradition, and is often constructed from elements already existing in the day-to-day social practices, i.e., society's invented traditions (Hobsbawm, 1992). Intertwined with the processes of "purposefully remembering and forgetting" (Assmann, 2009: 37) these elements metamorphose into heritage. Consequently, heritage becomes a cultural tool that nations, societies, communities, and individuals use to express, endow, and fashion identity and a sense of belonging. This rather static understanding of heritage comes under increasing pressure in the contemporary trans-national and trans-local discourses, imposing the necessity of acknowledging the multiple natures of history and its material relics. Despite an abundance of theories on the democratization of heritage interpretation and numerous attempts of grasping the dissonant voices it provokes, the practice of heritage management faces constant challenges and uncertainties. The latter predominantly lay in the lack of deeper understanding of the initial layer of meanings that each heritage object is made with, and which determines the nature of dynamic relations the object will enter following its creation.

In this respect it would be useful to turn to the definition of monuments and their construction provided by Alois Riegl. He states that the making of heritage is dependent on the constant interaction between the artifact, the contemporary/initial volition, and its author or creator (Riegl, 1903, in: 1982). He argues that the *volition* is the initial and permanent factor of this process, and therefore the basic parameter influencing it. Moreover, the permanence of its role denies it a possibility of alternating. The context might vary and the interpretation of it can differ, but its basic construction remains the same. The term alone refers to the ideological concept the specific artifact is based upon. If we presume that it is a constant parameter of artifact- and heritage-making processes, the roles and agencies in the heritage-formation process have to be re-examined. And the relational triangle based on Riegl's heritage theory can be altered. It can be argued that the formation of heritage is equally conditioned by those creating the artifact and those consuming it as heritage.

Figure 1



Riegl's relational triangle

Adjusted Riegl's relational triangle

According to the models presented above, heritage is created through the consumption of the produced artifacts, determined by the *initial volition* of their creator, and by the contemporary context of relevance given by its consumers. The roles of the artifact creator and the heritage consumer can interchange, whereby the *initial volition* becomes the sum of the "original" *initial volition* and the given contextual layer. In the specific case of state orchestrated artifact- and heritage-making, an artifact functions as heritage starting from its conception, and the state institutions assume the main role in formulating and materializing the ideological normative.

Based on the nature of the *initial volition* the type of heritage can be determined. Therefore, it is necessary to make a distinction between the *initial volition* of *shared* and *mutual heritage*. Even though they might seem alike at a first glance, they should not be regarded as the same.

A somewhat clear distinction between the two is made within *heritage management* as a practice of safekeeping and interpreting both tangible and intangible cultural properties. The sum of practices of maintaining objects, determined as cultural property, or cultural heritage if preferred, encompasses all the activities of documenting and maintaining the physical state of designated properties, as well as the official interpretation of values they, as heritage, must possess (Smith, 2006; Zorzin, 2014). The interpretative segment of heritage management refers to official/institutional/state actuation of which tangible and intangible property, and for what purpose, will be interpreted in the present and safeguarded for the future. In these terms it is vital to clearly define the agencies that assume the role of selectors and

custodians of heritage, while through their activities cultural property is employed for fulfilling goals determined by the state. A clear distinction between the formal and informal heritage-interpretation practices needs to be made. The latter refers to making a distinction between official state institutions dealing with preservation of cultural monuments (such as conservation and research institutes), and non-governmental institutions, unauthorized state institutions, and individuals taking an active part in informal heritage management practices. State institutions, authorized for heritage management, are those responsible for developing and implementing diverse tools for structured and standardized data collecting. Over the last two decades, heritage theorists have sharply criticized exactly this segment of heritage-management practice, especially on the level of data selection and the authorizing voices of proclaimed heritage professionals. Laurajane Smith defined the term "Authorized Heritage Discourse" (AHD) (2006: 87), alluding to the necessity of democratizing the data collecting process in order to achieve multi-vocal interpretation of the same heritage object. The fiery debates surrounding the issue of the democratization resulted in a corpus of policy documents (predominantly in the United Kingdom, Australia, New Zealand, and the United States) setting the imperative of a pluralistic nature of interpretation as the main goal of heritage-management activities (Smith, 2004; Sandell, 1998, 2012; Bagnall, 2003; Meijer-van Mensch and Van Mensch, 2011). One of the results of this "democratization" of data collecting and process of interpretation has been the establishment of the Centre for International Heritage Activities (CIE) in the Netherlands, with the task of developing heritage-management policies and tools for their later implementation. The CIE has defined the term mutual heritage in one of its documents as

> a shared view of the concerned heritage on the part of the Dutch and another country. Heritage, the 'silent' remains of history, resonates with the echo of many voices in the contemporary interpretation and presentation of a site. The stories selected in this process determine the site's character and consequently its meaning for society. However, such stories differ depending on the storyteller (Cultural Heritage Connections, 2013).

The Joint Policy Framework for Co-operation in the field of Mutual Cultural Heritage of Ghana and the Netherlands (2004) defines mutual heritage as both movable and immovable cultural objects that embody historical ties between countries, making the objects significant to the history and culture of all parties. With the policy on *Mutual Cultural Heritage*, problematic, dissonant and/or contested heritage is given a new interpretation, making it a valuable tool for critical reflection on history. The basic principles of the exchange of knowledge, expertise, and possible interpretation given by the *Joint Policy* can be used as a model for developing tools used for addressing any problematic "relic" of the past.

However, this *mutuality* of heritage implies that certain artifacts play a role in the identity formation processes of two or more groups, but it does not imply a co-operative nature of the processes. The latter instigates a different approach to ownership of specific heritage. This difference is based on the construction of the *initial volition*, where not necessarily all participants had a voice in its defining. Therefore, it can be argued that there can be two specified roles in the process, the role of heritage affecters and of heritage consumers. Heritage consumers, however, can be internally divided as well. The consumers can be the direct heirs of heritage affecters, or groups, willingly or forcefully, impacted by the produced heritage, marking it as troubled. It can be argued that the type of impact the *initial volition* has on the formation of heritage and, therefore, identity, differs in the realm of the two heritage creator groups. While for one it presents an organic continuance of the orchestrated identification, for others it might evoke the actual breach of that continuity. Regardless of how we define the roles of participants in heritage formation, it can be concluded that in the case of *mutual* heritage, at least as defined by the CIE, the *initial volition* cannot be defined as *shared*. It is in this nuance that the difference between *mutual* and *shared* heritage can be detected.

Following the line of detecting the difference between *mutual* and *shared*, moving from the Netherlands to the realm of the former Yugoslavia will demonstrate the stated difference using the example of the *memorial network of the NOB* (People's Liberation Struggle), a quintessential *lieu de mémoire* (Nora, 1989) with a transparently communal character. Here the term memorial network of the NOB refers to a selected group of memorial sites of the NOB built to commemorate the bravery of the Partisan movement as a symbol of the common struggle of all the peoples of Yugoslavia regardless of their ethnicity. Additionally, there are a number of memorials built to commemorate the suffering of civilians in the Second World War. More specifically, it refers to a specific group of monuments, today most well-known and frequently used to signify the artistic production of Yugoslavia, due to the specificity of their visual form.[1] They were most often constructed within the

[1] It is important to note that the selected group of monuments, in this article referred to as "the memorial network of the NOB", presents only a small fraction of a much larger group of sites of memory of the NOB. They are incredibly diverse in their form: plaques, busts, cemeteries to fallen soldiers, large-scale memorial complexes, monuments to workers, etc. (Karge, 2014). Furthermore, the aesthetical solutions used for their creation differ as well, from the traditional figural forms to abstract aesthetical choices, with many in-between solutions. The appearance of modernistic language in the construction of some monuments of this group occurred with the state's explicit goal of distancing itself from the dogmatism of the USSR and the artistic style of socialist realism, seeming enlightened but remaining intrinsically socialist (Marković, 2012; Vučetić, 2012; Merenik, 2001). Lidija Merenik (2001) states that the visual language of modernism was adopted, but that the social function of the arts connected to the *avant-garde* was abandoned. Numerous monu-

spaces where the actual historical events took place. The emotionally charged landscape carried a narrative of the struggle, suffering, and fight for freedom, always emphasizing the power of the shared fight of all the peoples of the SFRJ (Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia). Through regular commemorative practices determined by the strictly defined commemorative calendar, in the first years after the war visitors actively exchanged both collective and individual memories of those events and fallen comrades. Later, the processes of sharing and exchange were based on the maintained memory of the past and the prescribed normative values of the state. This specific monumental network should be understood as building of *lieux de mémoire* within the *lieux de mémoire*. These spaces therefore functioned on two levels, the level of physical space (meaning the physical configurations of the landscapes where they were constructed) and the level of narrative (meaning the actual and fictional events that constructed the fabric and memory embodied in the space). The *memorial network of the NOB* was constructed for shaping, embodying, and nurturing of the *shared* Yugoslav identity. The matter of defining and proclaiming what is *shared*, in this specific case, seems to be simple, based on the rather clear preconceptions of those creating heritage. The *monuments of the NOB* were based on the narrative of "brotherhood and unity" and shared values. Based on the definitions discussed above, it can be concluded that these heritage sites are unquestionably *shared*, since they were conceived as such by their creators. If we presume the former statement to be true, *shared/mutual* heritage, as described through Dutch policy, does not refer to the process of recognition of the past *status of shared* of a specific artifact/heritage. Rather, it implies the necessity of understanding the meaning of s*hared* within the contemporary discourse of heritage. Therefore, the multiple layers of interpretation of this undeniably *shared* heritage will enter the discussion only if understood as stories which may "differ depending on the storyteller" (Cultural Heritage Connections, 2013).

Stone Flowers, Interrupted Flights, and Astral Projections – the Monumental Network of the NOB

The memorial network of the NOB became an archetype at a time of hyper-expansion of artistic form after 1948, resulting in

> a genuinely specific memorial typology that linked the memory of the Second World War to the promise of the future brought forward by the socialist revolution. Instead of formally addressing suffering, modernist memorial sites were intended to catalyze universal gestures of reconciliation, resistance, and modern progress (Kirn and Burghardt, 2011: 66).

ments erected in the SFRJ, beginning in the 1960s, "were aesthetically sophisticated works of art transcending the rigid dogmatism of the early communist dictatorship" (Pavlaković, 2012: 24).

This memorial network was built with a firmly determined "master-narrative" and with a clear intent of transmitting the imperative of *shared* history, memory, and identity since 1945. The monuments were envisioned to embody the *pathos* and strength of "brotherhood and unity" and, as such, they function up to the present day, although many with devastated physical forms and a purposefully forgotten and disregarded *initial volition*. Nevertheless, their making was part of the state-orchestrated endeavor of fashioning the *shared* identity of the Yugoslav nation, and it can be argued that they were conceived as a deliberate heritage, to be perceived as such by the immediate heirs of the newly formed state.[2] They commemorate the civilian victims of the war, brave Partisans, the antifascist fight and the victory of "brotherhood and unity".

The decisions regarding the construction of memorials, the narratives they transmitted, and the commemorative rituals that were held there were entrusted to the Association of Fighters of the National Liberation War (SUBNOR). SUBNOR was established in 1947 (Peitler-Selakov, 2012; Manojlović-Pintar, 2008; Bergholz, 2007). Counting approximately one million members, including almost all the relevant political figures of the time, SUBNOR was much more than just another veteran group. It was established in order to initiate, design, and protect the state-prescribed memory of the Second World War. At the founding congress of the association it was emphasized that SUBNOR will "actively act in order to maintain and exhilarate the memory of the heroic fight of our people and memory of heroes of the People's Liberation Struggle, in order to inspire and teach future generations" (Gošnjak, 1947, in Bergholz, 2007: 63). This purpose was fulfilled mostly by erecting memorial complexes and cemeteries to fallen Partisans and victims of "fascist terror". The decisions of erecting memorial complexes and other types of

[2] The practice of proclaiming the power of the state through permanent markers in the landscape is rooted in the tradition of memorial practices within this territory. For example, newly built monuments in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes (later renamed the Kingdom of Yugoslavia) after the First World War were meant to establish the public memory of war heroism and suffering in creating the new state. However, their functioning as such was possible only in certain parts of the newly formed Kingdom (Bakić, Cvetković, Dobrivojević et al., 2013). This segmental effect of memorial practice can be seen as a direct consequence of legitimization of war conquest through the proclamation of state for all South Slavs. This attempt to create one Yugoslav nation resulted in the imposition of a singular Yugoslav identity and the affirmation of King Aleksandar I Karađorđević as its carrier and embodiment. The latter influenced the type of memorial sculpture that was produced in that period, almost always dedicated to the ruler – King Aleksandar, "the Great Unifier". All of these monuments would again become engaged in the production of memorials in the "new" Yugoslavia. As Dragan Klaić has noted, the pre-communist heritage within the SFRJ was employed as a visualizer of counter values proclaimed by the previous and conflicting political and societal order of the state. Quite often "those monuments valued as reactionary by the communist regime were destroyed and removed" (Klaić, 2011: 176).

markers "were conducted on several levels, encompassing such actions at the federal, republic, and local levels by individual sections of SUBNOR" (Karge, 2014). It is important to acknowledge the existence of several interchanging levels of decision-making, which go beyond the internal structure of SUBNOR. Until 1963, almost all final decisions regarding the structuring of official Yugoslav memory of the Second World War were made by the Committee for Marking and Designing Historical Places of the People's Liberation War (ibid.). The Committee was the only responsible body for the design of the central, shared Yugoslav historical, and therefore memorial, sites. Even though it was closely connected to the mission and activities of SUBNOR, since the Committee's founding in 1952 it was directly financed by, and therefore under the jurisdiction of, the Federal Executive Council of Yugoslavia (ibid.). Furthermore, regarding the implementation of the official narrative and the maintenance of erected monuments, SUBNOR acted in accordance with educational institutions and institutes for the protection of cultural monuments at the federal, republic, and local levels. Additionally, decision-making and the subsequent construction of monuments was made in consultation with local authorities, who often also provided financial aid, and local citizens, who gave either private or collective donations (ibid.). The construction of the official memory of the Second World War was therefore presented as a joint effort, evoking on a certain level the main message of the commemorated events: the common struggle against fascism and brotherhood and unity.

The association was very efficient in its work, erecting 14,402 monuments by 1961, or "almost three monuments per day for each day of a sixteen-year period" (Bergholz, 2007: 65). Alongside the enterprises of erecting monuments and memorial complexes, SUBNOR was responsible for scripting the commemorative ceremonies performed within these spaces. The latter was conducted through a special "Co-ordination Board in charge for the commemoration and festivities of jubilees: the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia (SSRNJ)", established in 1967 (Karge, 2014: 60). A certain type of performance pattern was developed and employed, allowing local changes depending on the event that was commemorated (Bergholz, 2007; Manojlović-Pintar, 2008; Peitler-Selakov, 2012). The ceremony, as a rule, started with a procession of people. These processions tended to involve large numbers of participants, as many as several thousand. War veterans, politicians, and children usually headed the processions, with a special place intended for families of fallen Partisans. Upon arrival to the location of the central ceremony, the ritual was started with a series of speeches by local political leaders and veterans. They evoked the locally specific historical narrative and emphasized the current socio-political importance of the NOB. The cultural program that followed was usually reserved for youth-oriented activities. Finally, wreaths and flowers would be laid on the monument, which usually featured the engraved names of fallen sol-

diers and messages honoring their sacrifice for creating the new socialist society. According to Max Bergholz's analysis of public reactions to memorial complexes and cemeteries of fallen Partisans, the official methodology for preserving and commemorating the NOB was conducted in a more or less similar fashion (2007). However, the reaction of people changed significantly over time. The memory sites were often neglected, with the exception of the important anniversaries performed according to the commemorative calendar.

Each republic celebrated their own date of the 1941 uprising (*Dan ustanka*) as an official holiday (7 July – Serbia, 13 July – Montenegro, 22 July – Slovenia, 27 July – Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, and 11 October – Macedonia). Each republic commemorated these days individually, while 4 July was selected as Veteran's Day (*Dan Borca*) and celebrated at the federal level. This official commemorative calendar was a tool for the controlled and continuous dispersal of the official narrative, which emphasized all of the sacrifices made in building the new "liberated" state. In this way, commemorative rituals annually disseminated the state's ideology. However, it can be argued that there was a certain hierarchy demonstrated in this calendar. The attempt of emphasizing the primacy of Serbs in the antifascist fight has been pointed out by some authors (Roksandić, 1993, in Pavlaković, 2008). This was seen as the reason for the easy dismissal of this date as the state holiday in Croatia after dissolution of the SFRJ, due the fact that the actual antifascist uprising in Croatia started on 22 June (Pavlaković, 2008). The complexity of the official commemorative calendar reflects the wider complexity of the transformations the SFRJ was undergoing after the Second World War.

In the specific case of the aforementioned *memorial network of the NOB*, besides the aesthetic solution for the monuments' design, an important part of construction was the selection of an appropriate space, often a landscape, to host the memory site. The choice of location was far from arbitrary, and it had to satisfy several demands. Firstly, the location itself had to have its own narrative, usually being the exact or approximate site of a certain historic event. Secondly, the physical configuration of the space had to endorse the memorizing potential of the memorial architecture that was to be constructed. The selection of natural landscapes and sites "where Partisan victories took place implied another aspect: they suggested revolution to be a natural process" (Pejić, 2012). Locations were mainly situated outside of urban spaces, preferably in the open landscape. Often they were placed in spaces that could combine more than one type of visitor activity. They were at the same time sites of leisure, commemoration, and education, "serving as open-air classrooms" (Kirn and Burghardt, 2011: 67). The latter function influenced the incorporation of a very specific architectural element in many of these projects – the amphitheater. It was integrated into the physical configuration of the memorial space,

with the monument transformed into a stage for the scripted performance based on the narrative of "brotherhood and unity". The fusion of the memorial complexes and the park-like surroundings was meant to create spaces for people to gather. When paired with a precise commemorative calendar and clearly defined participating roles in the commemorative performances, these new spaces provided a sense of continuity of Yugoslavia as a state, always "formulating the new meaning of history" (Manojlović-Pintar, 2008: 13).

The embodied narrative was based on the institutionalized memory of the Second World War. The common struggle of all ethnic groups and the Partisan victory at the end of the war was used as a template for implementing and enhancing the sense of "brotherhood and unity".

> The monuments were used in an effort to master the past in order to control the future. Even though monuments mostly commemorated fallen soldiers, they were also used to articulate a spirit of optimism and collective will directed towards a utopian, classless society (Musabegović, 2012: 20).

According to the implemented narrative, this monumental network can, conditionally, be divided in two groups: one dedicated to the suffering of common people and the unjust death of civilians, and the other dedicated to the bravery, heroic sacrifice, and victory of the People's Liberation Army. Both types of narrative commemorated the suffering and victims of war. Additionally, they were both understood as emotional triggers and, therefore, essential for creating a general sense of participation and ownership. However, this effect was not created in the same way. When commemorating the innocent victims of the fascist occupation, participants and visitors of the commemoration were invited to share the universal sense of injustice and affliction. However, when commemorating fallen soldiers, wartime hardships, and the heroism of the revolutionary struggle, the memory of recent past, or living memory, emphasized the *shared* endeavor and jointly won freedom. Additionally, the narrative of wartime combat successfully evoked emotions of pride and justice, since the Yugoslav Partisans had liberated their country without much direct intervention from the Western Allies. Therefore, the *monuments of the NOB* can be seen as monuments erected by the People in the name of the People, demonstrating the potency of "brotherhood and unity".

The Initial Volition

If we sift through the memorial network of the NOB, the imperative of *shared* should be understood as the *initial volition* of the state, and the following examples will demonstrate its *modus operandi* of implementing it into all segments of collective and individual life. This was to be achieved through the continuous ideologi-

cal upbringing of the community members and the day-to-day policy of the state. The implementation of the *initial volition* formulated within the idiom "brotherhood and unity" presents an active process of identity formation. This process was regarded as necessary for the state to develop and later maintain cohesion within a multi-ethnic society, which was still troubled by the tensions of unfulfilled goals of national realization. The victory in the Second World War was recognized as the finally fulfilled condition for the thorough revamping of the previously laid foundations of national emancipation of the Yugoslav peoples. The idiom of "brotherhood and unity" proclaimed a peaceful coexistence of all nations and nationalities within the territory of the Yugoslav state. It was believed that this was the solution for the unresolved national questions that endangered and eventually destroyed the Kingdom of Yugoslavia.

The state's identity management strategy was arguably based on providing a sense of the past, the present, and the future for the ideology of "brotherhood and unity". The narrative of war can be understood as a method for demonstrating the historical continuity and legitimacy of the dominant notions of a *shared* past. However, the clear limitations of war narratives conditioned a strategic shift of Yugoslav identity management, bringing the focus to the contemporary moment and the material world, sensually available to all individuals. It became obvious that it was urgent to develop a method that would secure the established relations between individuals and the collective, and draft a future for the idea of "brotherhood and unity". The verve of renewal of a country devastated by war and the rapid modernization that positioned the new state within the framework of international politics and economy also had the common, group effort of "the people" as the core concept. Hard physical labor replaced war courage, and the physical draining of the body was set in a new context of renouncement for the sake of progress. Additionally, glorification of the worker was aligned with the new class-based hegemony introduced in socialist Yugoslavia. Furthermore, as a part of the tripartite strategy of identity management, the creation of the *Cult of Youth and Physical Vitality* can be cited as an active and diligent construction of the future. As such it obtained a highly specific place in the visual culture of the SFRJ, intrinsically carrying the symbolism of the coming potential and vitality of society.

Having in mind the dominance of war narratives within the state's identity management strategy of formulating the official past, which was to be transgressed into contemporary and future heritage, the official state didactic cultural production was logically framed within the scope of memorial art (Klaić, 2011). During the socialist period, memorial art and specific monuments were used for making reference to several layers of Yugoslavian identity. Valentino Dimitrovski states that, alongside national layer(s), two additional layers of identity were referenced: "The

first related to aspirations to socio-political freedom in a historical continuity; the second to a discourse on universalistic humanism, with messages that surpass temporal, socio-cultural, as well as national limitations and stereotypes" (2012: 32). The proximate memory of war was selected as the official narrative to be embedded and evoked through both educational and cultural policies of the new state. This choice is far from unusual:

> While collective memory in pre-modern societies was largely based on wartime experiences, the advent of nationalism in the late eighteenth century increased the importance, the political role, and the cultural significance of war memories in societies everywhere. Wars, whether victorious or lost, were used by state authorities not just to strengthen national identity, but also to transmit officially desired social values and virtues (Hoepken, 1999: 190).

This attempt to ensure the continuity of "brotherhood and unity" resulted in the creation of a *lieux de mémoire* network and an appropriate set of commemorative ritualized practices. The practices of remembrance, developed through education and public discourse, were to "remind people of the duty of sacrificing for one's own nation by recalling former wars" (Hoepken, 1999: 190). This authorized narrative was a rather homogeneous one and showed little interest in the ambivalence of history. Nevertheless, at its fundamental level it becomes clear that the memorial network of the NOB was based on the narrative of freedom won by "brotherhood and unity" for "brotherhood and unity", and signifies these heritage sites as being *shared*.

Current Heritage Interpretation Practice

Based on the short analysis of the memorial network of NOB and the possible readings of its *initial volition* as *shared*, it can be concluded that a multilayered reading of these monuments is not a choice, but a necessity. The mentioned monuments have been the subject of numerous and diverse heritage interpretations, within academia, artistic performances, and heritage management practices. They were conceived as a part of the official state identity management strategy, used for disseminating the official historical narrative and for the physical mobilization of people throughout the geographical space of the SFRJ. However, more recently there has been a tendency to strip these monuments of their previous narratives and connotations, and to analyze them solely as works of art and masterpieces of communist architecture outside of the Soviet Union (Vučetić, 2012; Pejić, 2012; Dimitrovski, 2012; Manojlović-Pintar, 2008; Merenik, 2001). They have been the subject of some recent theoretical work based on an art-historical analysis of their form, concept, and relation to their natural surroundings. An article titled "Yugoslavian Partisan Memorials: Between Memorial Genre, Revolutionary Aesthetics and Ideo-

logical Recuperation" written by Gal Kirn and Robert Burghardt was published in *Manifesta Magazine* (2012), investigating the potential meaning of these monuments as ("dissonant") heritage of socialism. Additionally, there have been studies and projects addressing these monuments as symbolic carriers of prescribed history and the impact they potentially had in visualizing the wanted behavior demanded by the state (Bergholz, 2007; Klaić, 2011; Pavlaković, 2008; Karge, 2014). Documenting the current condition of these complexes and the causes of their current state of neglect or devastation has mainly been outside of the professional heritage discipline of the new states. Numerous blogs and other web-based communication forms appear with an attempt to document and alert the public on the state of these specific heritage complexes, sometimes offering detailed information regarding the recent history of these sites.[3] Additionally, their current state and the potential contemporary impact has been made in a series of art projects, such as Jan Kempenaers' project and publication *Spomenik* (2010), the exhibition "Sržina" as a part of the Zalet festival in Zaječar (Serbia) in 2012, and the work of Croatian artist David Maljković (Van Abbemuseum, 2013). In December 2013 the exhibition titled "Neo N.O.B." opened in the Museum of Yugoslav History in Belgrade. The exhibition "is the largest solo exhibition of sculptor Ivan Fijolić to date, combining seven monumental sculptures inspired by the history of the People's Liberation Movement and public sculptures that formed the visual language of ideology of a generation" (Museum of Yugoslav History, 2013). Even though an investigation of the current state of these monuments and the recent historical conditions shaping it has not been done systematically by the official/state heritage management field, a rather vivid volume of research investigating to some extent the contemporary use of these monuments can be found. An example of the potentially developing discourse is the rather substantial volume of work by Vjeran Pavlaković. He investigates the employment of certain symbolic qualities of these monuments in the processes of nation-building in Croatia after the armed conflicts of the 1990s. Another example dealing with the question of contemporary understanding of these monuments is the study presented by Leila Dizdarević and Alma Hudović titled *The Lost Ideology: Socialist Monuments in Bosnia* (2012), addressing this monumental network in the context of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

When looking at the actual *heritage management practice* within the territory of the former Yugoslavia, it is important to note that several monuments of

[3] The heritage documenting blogs can be found at: http://www.lupiga.com/vijesti/index.php?id=6180 (accessed: 22 March 2013); http://www.d-a-z.hr/hr/vijesti/spomenici-u-tranziciji-rusenje-spomenika-nob-a-u-hrvatskoj,1641.html (accessed: 22 March 2013); http://www.slobodna-bosna.ba/vijest/8929/tjentiste_ozivljena_dolina_heroja.html (accessed: 22 March 2013).

this memorial network have maintained their position of state-protected cultural monuments. The *Memorial Park October of Kragujevac* (Kragujevac, Serbia) and the *National Park Sutjeska* (Tjentište, Bosnia and Herzegovina) are two of these cases. Both monuments have been entered into the systems of national institutions in charge of heritage management and monument preservation. The *Memorial Park October of Kragujevac* is dedicated to the victims of German Army reprisals ordered by Field Marshal Wilhelm Keitel which led to the deaths of 2,778 civilians in October 1941 (Pavlaković, 2008). It was declared a cultural property of exceptional cultural value on 27 December 1979 by the official institutions of the SFRJ. Currently it is on the list of protected sites of the Institute for Protection of Cultural Monuments of the Republic of Serbia (2013). However, it can be argued that contemporary interpretation of this memorial park as a part of the broader discourse of Holocaust remembrance does not address its initial designation as a monument of *shared* heritage, dedicated to the antifascist character of the NOB. In doing so, a deliberate process of forgetting the pre-set context is instigated. Additionally, since it has been proclaimed a national monument of the Republic of Serbia and, therefore, of the Serbian people, it raises additional ethical problems regarding its management. The question whether or not this monument can be referred to as "national" only on the grounds of its geographical coordinates, should be asked, while the stated designation cannot be made on the grounds of its *initial volition*.

Similarly, the *National Park Sutjeska* shares a comparable contemporary fate, since it was declared a temporary national monument of culture of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 2008 (Commission to Preserve National Monuments, 2013). The monument *Battle of the Sutjeska* commemorates one of the most vigorous battles of Partisan forces against German and Italian troops during the Second World War, emphasizing the bravery of the Partisan army and their firm belief in the values of freedom, equality, and unity. Unlike many abandoned or destroyed memory sites, "the Sutjeska National Memorial park is one of the few places where monuments commemorating the National Liberation Movement (NOB) are actually being renovated through official funding" (Musabegović, Baotić, Pavlaković et al., in: Brumund and Pfeifer, 2011: 55). Defining this monument as a national cultural monument can be questioned, since its main purpose was to commemorate the shared fight for freedom of the Yugoslav people. The multiethnic narrative of this complex is confirmed by the structure of its central monument, two massive abstract stone forms representing the Sutjeska River canyon and the successful escape of the Partisan central command through the breach. An amphitheater was constructed as an integral element of the monument, with the engraved names of over 7,000 fallen Partisans, many of them Croats from Dalmatia, who fought and sacrificed their lives so that the bulk of Tito's forces could escape encirclement. The problem of the lost elements of the narrative, in other words the disregard for its fundamental *shared*

nature, should be addressed as an ethical dilemma. The similarity of problems that the two contemporary heritage management discourses and practices are facing, in two former Yugoslavia republics, imposes the necessity of co-operative activities in the heritage management of these sites.

One of the key questions that needs to be asked is: if we presume that these relics of the past are conceived as *shared*, is it possible to address them as carriers of only individual national memory? Can these memorial complexes, endowed with the status of heritage within the individual nation-states, be understood only as individual national heritage without the perspective of *shared*?

The intrinsic *shared* nature of the heritage in question demands a constant renegotiation of its meaning and, therefore, of the impact it had, has, and could have in the new national contexts. Therefore, it is crucial to understand that co-operation between professional fields will have to go beyond collaborative work (helping with the preservation of cultural heritage and sharing expertise) as defined by the *Mostar Declaration on the Preservation of Cultural Heritage* (2012), and rethink the consequences that *shared heritage* has on the individual national level, and *vice versa*. Additionally, the emphasis on the multi-vocal nature of heritage and the importance of recognizing and acknowledging different resonations of the same heritage sites is the point in which the concept of the *shared/mutual* heritage of postcolonial discourse aligns with the *shared/mutual* heritage of post-communist discourse. Therefore, *mutual heritage*, both as a concept and as a tool prescribed by the CIE, can be used in the case of shared heritage of the SFRJ with certain alterations. In this manner the professional field can potentially overcome the limitations of information-based approaches on the institutional level.

Information-based Discourse of Heritage vs. Performance-based Discourse of Heritage

Having in mind the long tradition and dominance of information-based museological and heritage approaches (Maroević, 1983; Van Mensch, 1992) within the museum profession in the former Yugoslavia, it is possible to conclude that the earlier presented ethical dilemmas are rooted within certain limitations of this approach. These limitations restrain the contemporary heritage management practitioners in their attempts to examine the contemporary impact that the heritage in question has, or could have, on the new nation-states and their societies. In order to point out some of the limitations of the named approach, performance-based methods of heritage interpretation that are dominant within Western European discourses of heritage and museology will be discussed below.

In "Western" museology and heritage studies, the mentioned performativity owes its existence to the demand of democratization of meaning-making processes,

introduced in order to show respect to the multi-vocal nature of each heritage object. In this way the "Authorized Heritage Discourse" (AHD) (Smith, 2006) and the modernistic understanding of information have been challenged, and the road towards true ownership of both tangible and intangible relics of the past has been marked. The vast success of the performance-based interpretations of heritage sites and museums is a direct consequence of the transformed roles of visitors and actors. The transformation of the roles has been enabled by "'encountering' the past 'brought to life'" (Jackson and Kidd, 2011: 1). The active employment of the performing tools has turned both the actors and the visitors into active participants of the narration processes (Shanks and Pearson, 2001). This simultaneous adoption of various roles allows the participants to construct plural ideological understandings of heritage performance, and ensures a plural understanding of history and its tangible and intangible remains (Kershaw, 2011). The emphasis on an individual action within *performance as an art form* can be understood as the creation of shared responsibility over its final result. However, in the context of *performance as heritage interpretation*, this shared responsibility might create a lack of coherent interpretation of a specific narrative, and it can be easily misunderstood for authorized truth. This authoritative voice, intended to be abolished through the changing and redefining of participants' roles, remains the dominant narrator, once again limiting the possibilities of multilayered interpretations. Tomislav Šola warns that "the danger of contemporary society is the total relativism, which will crumble collective experience to the uncritical level of any individual, paradoxically trying to suggest freedom of choice and the importance of every individual being" (2008: 42). Following Šola's line of reasoning, it can be concluded that the democratization of interpretation can paradoxically be replaced by the primacy of authorized truth. Furthermore, *performance heritage*, as a tool and potentially as a method, neither develops nor proposes practical approaches for collecting the infinite amount of data stored in a single artifact, even though it persistently points to the multiple nature of every interpretation as such. Within its theoretical considerations, *performance heritage* as a method has an ability to instigate the retrieval of an infinite amount of data from one single artifact. However, in practice this amount is usually purposefully limited. Additionally, the data selection process in question is almost never fully disclosed. This is made possible due to the imperative of artistic freedom embedded in a performance act, conveniently based in the illusion of shared responsibility by all participants.

The appearance of an infinite amount of retrievable data signals certain similarities between *performance heritage* and *information-based methodology* of museum and heritage discourse, predominant in Eastern and Central Europe. Within this discourse, museology and heritage management are considered from the position of information sciences, and as such it investigates the process of making,

collecting, selecting, valorizing, researching, storing, discovering, transmitting, deconstructing, interpreting, employing, and safeguarding information and data an artifact carries (Maroević, 1983; Van Mensch, 1992). Within the stated discourse, the interpretation processes are almost exclusively entrusted to the heritage institutions which can be seen as directly contradicting the propositions of democratization of knowledge and interpretation advocated within the discourse of *performance heritage*. Nevertheless, the two discourses share certain similarities, and one maybe crucial common characteristic. They both understand their functioning in the realm of performativity, either of interpretation or of data collecting. However, as a first difference between the two, the level of responsibility each institution carries can be sited. The performative approach advocates freedom of sensory and cognitive apprehension of characteristics embedded in the data collected by individuals and collectives, with the professional serving only as a mediator in the process. On the other hand, the information-based approach authorizes heritage institutions to act as the primary party in deciding the content and in steering the interpretation and communication of the collected data. Furthermore, the authorizing voice given to the institutions arguably results in formulations of the "truth", even though it strives to ensure the multiple character of each data. In this respect the discourse of *performance heritage* uses formatted data in a seemingly provisional manner with a disregard of the chronological systems and divisions. This does not imply that the process of scripting performance heritage does not include systematic data gathering, but rather that it employs it more as a tool, than as the goal of the collecting process.

Even though these two approaches can be perceived as mutually exclusive or at least contradictory, they are both conditioned by the sets of data each artifact carries. Moreover, they are conditioned by actions that are forming the artifact, and actions that will reconstruct, reinterpret, and transform it. Based on their similarities, or on the similarities of their limitations at least, it can be argued that only when fused can they achieve the goal of formulating a *common* understanding of heritage, based on the possibility of deriving the highest possible level of data from a single artifact. The latter is only to be achieved through a familiarization with the artifacts and through the support of inclusive notions, such as the *participation paradigm* (Meijer-van Mensch and Van Mensch, 2012: 51), which would diminish hierarchies within the data interpretation and selection processes. Only in this manner is the creation of a *communal/shared* heritage allowed. This perception of mutuality can bring the community, in the broadest sense, closer to formulating shared responsibilities. The shared responsibility of constructing and maintaining heritage, through the active participation of individuals and the building of collectives will potentially result in the development of intimate and emotional subjectivity (Kidd, 2011) that could lead to the "owning of", and not only "participating in", the formation of heritage, memory, and identity.

Improving Practice?

It becomes clear that in order to overcome the rather tabular construction of the data and possible inability of examining an artifact's life in the contemporary context, as commonly noticed within the information-based museological discourse, a more open approach to incorporating all of the additional narrative layers to the interpretation of a specific monument should be constructed and applied. For instance, the discussion regarding the form of a monument has already benefited from adding the layers of the personal view of the artists who made them, giving an insight into the professional and personal segments of their performance. Furthermore, the analyses made by architects, sculptors, designers, anthropologists, and culturologists have filled in the narrative gaps made by the art-historical approach, focused only on the esthetical and iconographical analysis of this work. However, all of the above-mentioned adjustments are almost solely connected to the enriching of the collected data, but they neither imply nor demand a radical change in the interpretative approach, and they do not represent a methodological cross-over. This is where certain modalities of performance-based interpretative approaches can be applied and where some tools developed by the CIE can be useful.

When dealing with highly contested historical narratives, or when the contemporary context does not fully allow for multiple angles of historical storytelling, *performance heritage* cannot be used in its most expected form. Re-enactments and tampering with the notions of historical time can potentially be misleading and even damaging for the process of balancing national tensions. This is especially the case for heritage created by the former and now highly contested identity management strategies of the SFRJ. Re-enactments of the actual commemorative performances, for example, might pose a risk today, since they are highly contested on numerous grounds in the contemporary processes of nation-building. Additionally, the exact re-enactment should not be done within an individual national context, since the original performances were not envisioned and conducted with such a preconception. If done in a post-communist national context, the re-enactments employ only one potential segment of the narrative these spaces carry. Therefore, there is no possibility of claiming the authenticity of the information or the narrative; the event becomes a fake!

An event of this sort, *Tjentište 2013*, was staged in October 2013 within the *National Memorial Park Sutjeska*. The organized *youth action* followed the model developed during the communist era, and presents a re-enactment of the youth action *ORA Sutjeska* (1971), during which the memorial complex was built. The students from the Serbian entity in Bosnia and Herzegovina (Republika Srpska) were gathered in order to help with the renovation of the youth center complex, damaged during the civil war and left to decay. Within this action almost all the buildings of the complex were renovated, along with the actual memorial site and its central mo-

nument.[4] However, this performance heritage piece did not follow the principles of exact re-enactment, since only students of one Yugoslav successor state entity participated in this process. The complex was initially made with an effort of the *Youth of Yugoslavia*, meaning with participation of all citizens regardless of ethnic divisions. The latter was clearly stated as a difference by the organizers, making way for building a new historical fact, and not for formulating one of many possible interpretations of this site and the performances staged within it. One possible reading of this re-enactment is that it is an act of national appropriation of Yugoslav heritage and the attachment of the antifascist character of the NOB to only one successor state. Furthermore, this act implies all levels of complexity contemporary Bosnia and Herzegovina is facing in its internal state structures.

Having in mind the possible misleading effects the staging and re-staging of the purposefully forgotten performances can have, a different type of performative approach should be designed. This approach should fulfill certain demands: it needs to offer as wide as possible range of information, it should allow interaction beyond geographical and ethnical divisions, it needs to be performative in the sense that it needs to be conducted in the lifetime of the participants, and, last but not least, it needs to be sustainable and continuous. The already developed network of ProAms[5] in heritage interpretation and the blogs they are making indicate the potential of using internet-based tools for conducting interpretations on the level of official heritage-management institutions.[6] The internet-based approach could be seen as beneficial since it is able to overcome physical distances and geographical divisions. It also offers a possibility of ideological equality and a space within which more voices could exist in equality of belonging to a group, defined by different sets of characteristics. The participants become users of a certain tool, rather than members of groups defined by nationality or religious community.

It is important to note that this approach has to be developed beyond simple digitalization of current collections and archived data within heritage institutions and the building of an official virtual presence. Since the interpretations remain in the realm of authorized truth, the possibility of contributing or voicing multiple understandings of heritage is limited. There have been numerous projects digitalizing and "making

[4] *Nezavisne novine*, 13 October 2013, www.nezavisne.com/novosti/drustvo/Uspjesno-zavrsena-prva-studentska-radnaakcija-213603.html

[5] http://www.capjournal.org/issues/10/10_04.php (accessed: 21 August 2014).

[6] The project "Usmena istorija – svedočanstva učesnika antifašističke borbe" ("Oral History – testimonies of participants of the antifascist struggle"), for example, applies highly contemporary methods of heritage interpretations and has been conducted outside of the official state heritage institutions. It was conducted by the self-initiated group KUPEK and used the methodology of oral history to collect personal memories, which go beyond the definitions of truthful and correct, and remain in the realm of intimate recollections of the past (KUPEK, 2014).

available" the valuable museum or archival collections, allowing quicker access to the information selected by heritage professionals. Some of the heritage institutions in the former Yugoslavia are actively working on fashioning their virtual presence and making their collected items visible and highly accessible to the public at large. These visibility projects have been done either through the mastering of the user methodology of social networks (especially in the domain of publicity for the activities offered within the physical space of the institutions), or through the vast digitalization of their collections.[7] However, it can be argued that these large-scale projects have not brought much difference in the relation between the official institutions and their authoritative voices, and the owners and consumers of heritage. Therefore it is necessary to think of the next step of the interpretation process in which the roles will change, while everyone willing to participate will become a producer.

One possible solution is the construction of platforms or virtual hubs within which all the benefits of internet-based tools can be used, with a special emphasis placed on employing the potentials offered by user-generated content (UGC), such as *Wikipedia*, as a pioneering and the most well-known format of UGC:

> user-generated content refers to a variety of media content available in a range of modern communications technologies. UGC is created by goal-oriented yet loosely coordinated participants, who interact to create a product or service of economic value, which they make available to contributors and non-contributors alike (GLAM Outreach project, 2014).

The GLAM Outreach project represents a large-scale project of applying this tool within the practice of heritage institutions. This project brings together collecting institutions (libraries, galleries, archives, and museums) with a goal to "support GLAM and other institutions that want to work with *Wikimedia* to produce open-access, freely-reusable content for the public" (GLAM Outreach project, 2014). The basic intention of using UGC is the opening of knowledge databases of diverse institutions to all potentially interested users, and to actively involve the stakeholders outside of these institutions to contribute to the knowledge and data construction. So far, many heritage institutions have joined the project, which has even resulted in the emergence of a new job position: *Wikipedian in residence*.

[7] Such examples can be found in the following links: Republic of Croatia, Ministry of Culture (http://www.min-kulture.hr/default.aspx?id=1781, accessed: 27 April 2014); Jasenovac Memorial Site (http://www.jusp-jasenovac.hr/default.aspx?sid=5021, accessed: 27 April 2014); Museum of Yugoslav History: photo-archive (http://foto.mij.rs/, accessed: 27 April 2014); the Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments of Republic of Serbia (http://www.heritage.gov.rs/, accessed: 25 July 2013); the Archive of Yugoslavia (http://www.arhivyu.gov.rs/active/sr-latin/home.html, accessed: 27 April 2014); ATRIUM project (http://www.atrium-see.eu/, accessed: 27 April 2014).

Numerous examples of heritage practitioners using new technologies as a means for re-negotiating their own practice can be found nowadays. And in some instances the day-to-day operations of heritage institutions have been affected through the application of the new sets of tools. Projects like *Historypin* or *Singapore Memory*[8] are only two among many. In comparing the operational models of these two internet-based platforms, we can see the notion of sharing knowledge and information functions as a common point. Additionally, they are based on the active involvement of all potential agencies that can be affected by interpretations of heritage and/or memory, gathering, in their words, "the global community collaborating around history" (Historypin, 2014). By acting in this manner, official heritage institutions are given an opportunity not only to keep but rather to share the information they have constructed and inherited from the former times and earlier methods of heritage preservation. The development of a platform, equipped to use all the possibilities of UGC and the opportunities of actually forming data systems as they are seen by an individual, presents the highest level of shared responsibility and ownership of specific spaces, heritage, and living memory. Therefore such a platform, or a virtual hub, can be seen as a sustainable system. This type of performativity can be seen as a truly contemporary approach, because it occurs in real-time, making it sensually perceivable as any performance work. Additionally, due to the possibility of storing and accessing a limitless amount of collected data, it can overcome the selected modernistic approach to truthful information.

Conclusion

When thinking of the complex issue of *heritage management practice* in the former Yugoslavia, the question of which institutions are responsible and how will they function in the future can be asked. The current dilapidated state of a substantially large number of monuments of the NOB can be investigated along the same line. The state of their devastation can be interpreted in several ways. Firstly, it can be regarded as a clear statement of new national states aiming to detach themselves from an "uncomfortable past". Secondly, it can be interpreted as the inability of responsible institutions to act upon the burning issues of heritage management (concerning all of its segments), due to limitations imposed by both policy and practice. And finally, it can be regarded as a genuine indifference of the new "owners" towards this "expired" heritage, which should in that case be demoted. However, the new "owners" of this shared heritage are hardly showing indifference while they are assuming an active role in the informal processes of heritage management, as demonstrated in earlier examples.

[8] Historypin project: http://www.historypin.com/ (accessed: 28 April 2014); Singapore Memory project: http://www.singaporememory.sg/clusters (accessed: 28 April 2014).

Therefore the main issue is not held in the domain of the informal heritage management practices, but rather in the inabilities of the formal ones. The authorized institutions remain in a limbo of unresolved policy matters, often implementing policies based on structures developed in the socialist era. Furthermore, while it can be claimed that these data collecting methods can still be used today, the issue of heritage management's efficiency is grounded in its interpretative segment. While the state-authorized institutions[9] have not instigated these interpretative processes, they can only join the current discussions occurring in the informal sector. When assuming the role of an active and equal conversation partner in the processes of (re)interpretation, the official heritage institutions can embark on the process of overcoming the limitations of a discipline dominated by chronology. Additionally, they will be encouraged to take on and share the responsibility over interpretation, both within the same institutional level they operate in, and as an equal member of societies they exist for and answer to.

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[9] State-authorized institutions for heritage management in most of the cases include the Ministry of Culture, the Ministry of Labor, Social Affairs and Veterans, Institutes for Protection of Cultural Monuments, and in some instances other types of research institutions.

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